

CPI(M)'S NINTH CONGRESS

The Ninth Congress of the CPI (M) recently held in Madurai had adopted a political resolution and an organisational report. For proper understanding of CPI(M) politics, it is necessary to carefully examine the resolution and the report in the light of Marxism-Leninism. We propose to do it sometime later when the final documents officially published by the party will be available. For the present we like to confine ourselves to some comments on certain observations reported to have been made by some CPI (M) leaders.

Is West Bengal a colony of Delhi? Newspaper reporters pointedly asked Mr. P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the CPI (M), this question. In reply, Mr. Sundarayya is reported to have declared: "We the Marxists, never said so. There is no such slogan in any of our party programmes. We never said so about West Bengal either." (*Hindusthan Standard* dated 2nd July, 1972) Had this assertion by the CPI (M) General Secretary been factually true, no one would have been more happy than us. But, unfortunately, it is not so. Not only CPI (M) leaders had said it hundreds of times in their election speeches before the people of West Bengal, it is there in print in their party organ as well. In fact, the slogan that West Bengal is a colony of Delhi has been advanced by the West Bengal State Committee of the CPI (M) officially. We are putting up concrete evidences in support of our above statement.

Firstly, please look at the *Resolution On Election* adopted by the West Bengal State Conference of the CPI(M) at Midnapore held on and from 16th to 20th January, 1972. The text of the resolution was published in the Bengali organ of the party, namely, *Desh Hitaishi* dated 28th January, 1972. The relevant portion runs as follows: "They (the ruling Congress—Editor, P.E.) are taking the economy of West Bengal along the road to ruination, destroying all noble traditions of West Bengal and are conspiring to convert West Bengal into a colony of

autocratic Centre." (emphasis ours—Editor, P.E.) Secondly, look at the article entitled "*Is West Bengal a Colony of New Delhi?*" written by the well-known CPI (M) leader, Mr. Niren Ghosh and published in the same CPI (M) Bengali organ dated 25th February, 1972. In this article we find the following observation of the party: "The State Conference of our Party at Midnapore has correctly said that Delhi has reduced West Bengal to its colony for all practical purposes." We can cite numerous other instances to establish that the CPI(M) had actually advanced the slogan stating that West Bengal is a colony of Delhi but to avoid repetition we satisfy ourselves with these two documentary evidences only. In the face of these stubborn facts it is a travesty of truth to claim, as the CPI(M) General Secretary has claimed, that the CPI (M) had never said that "West Bengal is a colony of Delhi."

It may not be out of place to quote what we had said about this slogan by the CPI(M). "...Promode Babu (Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the CPI(M)—Editor, P.E.) tries to fan up parochial sentiment by such utterances as West Bengal is a colony of the Centre and this he does with a view to taking maximum advantage in election. It is one thing to develop united democratic movement against the Centre for the fulfilment of just demands of West Bengal but it is quite a different thing to fan up local and parochial sentiment for winning elections. To one

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West Bengal Land Reforms (Second Amendment) Act. 1972 Lower Middle Peasants Fleeced to Fatten Jotedars

Calcutta, July 6—The Chief Minister of West Bengal and other leaders of the ruling Congress party have been loudly claiming that their aim is to greatly improve the condition of landless, poor and middle peasants in the State. According to them, during the last three and a half months' rule by the ruling Congress many concrete steps have been taken in that direction.

This claim by the ruling Congress and its leaders must be critically examined in the background of their actual deeds. It is an admitted fact that there are about 6 lakh bargadar families (this is an under-estimate by the official circle) in West Bengal. By and large, they are landless and/or extremely poor peasants with small plots of land anyhow eking out their existence from the produce of the land they cultivate on share-cropping system. Any government, which sincerely desires to improve the condition of landless and poor peasants, therefore, cannot but protect bargadars from eviction from the land they cultivate. But what is the record of the present ruling Congress Government in the state in this regard? So far as our information goes, about 50 thousand bargadars have been unlawfully evicted

during the last three months and a half by local jotedars backed by armed ruling Congress hoodlums, R. G. Party personnel and the police.

It is not we alone who are making this charge. The unlawful eviction of bargadars during the last three and a half months has assumed so alarming a proportion that the Congress MLA's coming from rural areas could not help strongly criticising even their own government on the floor of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly at the time of discussion on the state budget for not taking any action to stop this large-scale eviction. The CPI, which is more loyal than the king in their attitude towards the ruling Congress and the state Government, also had to come out with sarcastic

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Robot-Like Behaviour Of

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well acquainted with CPI (M) politics it is nothing new. In the past also it had been seen that the CPI (M) shook off all principles and took to parochialism with the sole object of expanding the party by hook or crook. It had been seen that the CPI (M) fanned Assamese sentiment in Assam and Bengali sentiment in West Bengal from a narrow pragmatic consideration. In Tamil Nadu and Punjab the CPI (M) supports the parochial demand of the DMK and the Akali Dal respectively, since they fear isolation and extinction if they go against the current of local and parochial sentiment. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the CPI(M) in their excessive zeal to be on the bandwagon of these parochial parties does not hesitate to characterize these parties as progressive but when it becomes impossible to make unity with them, the CPI (M) cries hoarse calling these very parties reactionary whom they had characterized as progressive a few days back. This very political exigency is promoting the CPI (M) to rouse local and parochial sentiment even though it vitiates the whole political atmosphere of the country and strikes at the root of the unity of the Indian people. This is indeed a serious danger. As such, the rank and file of the CPI (M) must be on their guard so as to restrain their leaders from pursuing such suicidal policy of disrupting the unity of the Indian people which is so essential for the success of the Indian revolution." (Proletarian Era dated 15th July, 1971). This observation by us testifies further to the fact that the CPI(M) had been saying that "West Bengal is a colony of Delhi" even in 1971 much before their state conference at Midnapore gave official seal to this slogan in January, 1972. In fact, in

the election speeches of CPI (M) leaders before the mid-term election in 1971 in the state this slogan occupied the central focal point.

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The **Statesman** in its issue dated 1st July, 1972, reports: "About the party's style of activities, although the emphasis continued to be on unity of democratic forces, the delegates apparently took note of the disastrous results of the United Front experience in 1969 in West Bengal where the CPI (M), in implementing the political resolution adopted at the previous Congress, emphasized the expansion of the party more than united action. The political report in recognition of the adverse effects caused by emphasis on the party's independent growth now says: "The militant mass movement requires that our party adopts a proper political approach towards parties, organizations, groups and individuals who can be brought into these struggles.""

This by implications is an admission by the CPI (M) leadership that the CPI (M) had not "proper political approach towards parties, organizations, groups and individuals who can be brought into" united struggles against the common enemy and that the CPI (M) in its over-zealousness to expand the party by all means worked against the United Front and united struggles against vested interests and reactionary forces in West Bengal in 1969. This is exactly what our Party had been saying all through. But the CPI(M) did not care to listen to our friendly advice, but, on the contrary, carried on a campaign of slander and hate against us. Better late than never. It is a good sign that the CPI(M) has admitted, though not openly but by implication, their past mis-

takes in their approach to United Front of left democratic forces and united struggles against common enemy of the people.

When the Central Committee of the CPI (M) in a session from 24th to 29th August, 1971 at Bangalore adopted a resolution urging on the necessity of democratic unity, our Party hailed the resolution. We then said, "Judged in the background of their (the CPI(M)'s —Editor, P. E) so-called theory of "class-based front" and fancied belief that the united front of left and democratic parties had become outdated due to intensification of class struggle, the present stance of the CPI(M) is a sign of departure and a step in the right direction. But has the CPI(M) viewed correctly the necessity of united front of left and democratic parties in the present phase of democratic movement and have they given up their left-sectarian and disruptive politics which disrupted the united fronts and brought about the downfall of UF governments in Kerala and West Bengal? Do they genuinely realize the necessity of united front in the prevailing condition in our country? Do they understand that in the present phase of democratic movement in our country the role of united front is not yet exhausted? Do they know that united front is a historical necessity and not created out of any fond imagination of any party? Are they aware that had they been a truly revolutionary working class party then their foremost task would have been to keep alive and united the united front as a formidable weapon of democratic mass movements so long as the role of other parties representing different classes other than the working class and still having influence over a considerable section of the toiling people is not completely exhausted? So long as the broad masses

of the toiling people will be suffering from bourgeois parliamentary reformist illusions and the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberal democratic parties will continue to exercise influence over the masses, it is only through the formation of united front of those left and democratic parties who still have a positive role, however vacillating, in the democratic movement that an instrument of mass struggle against reactionary forces and vested interests can be created. It is only with the help of this instrument that legitimate struggles of the democratic masses can be built up and gradually raised to higher and still higher level and the increasing fascistic offensives by the Indira Government against our people effectively repulsed. While carrying on these struggles, a revolutionary working class party would, at the same time, conduct relentless ideological struggles against other partners of the front to expose their real reformist character and gradually isolate them from the masses in such a way as not to, in any way, weaken the unity of the front and disturb united struggles against the main common enemy. It is only on the basis of the principle of 'unity-struggle-unity' that the united front can properly function the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties can be isolated from the masses of the people, toiling masses brought under political and organisational influence of the revolutionary working class party and the leadership of the revolutionary working class party established. Only at this stage the historical necessity of the united front of left and democratic parties is exhausted and a new type of front, proletarian united front, emerges. But did the CPI(M) which claims themselves to be a revolutionary working class party exhibit in their behaviour this

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outlook on UF politics? The answer is a big No. It is the CPI(M) which, due to their narrow sectarian and left-opportunistic politics, destroyed the UF which was gradually taking shape and emerging as the only instrument of building and developing democratic movements in West Bengal and Kerala. On the one hand, out of their pragmatic consideration of **anyhow** expanding the party, the CPI(M) most nakedly utilised the administration and the police for petty party interests, carried on violent attacks on political opponents and members and supporters of the fraternal constituent parties of the front, admitted anti-social elements into the party, indulged in big party chauvinism, carried on hate campaign against other partners of the front and thereby destroyed the unity of the front and, on the other hand, the CPI(M) under the smoke-screen of the slogan of "intensify the class struggle" actually went whole hog to win favour of big industrial houses, like the Birlas, big jotedars, top bureaucrats and their tribe, the enemies of the people." (**Proletarian Era** dated 15th November, 1971).

Had the CPI(M) then behaved properly, there would have been no chance of the ruling Congress now coming to power in West Bengal. The UF and the UF Government in the state would have continued and the people would have been saved from the present fascistic attacks on them by the ruling Congress. But infatuated by the desire to **anyhow** expand the party, they threw to the winds all principles and democratic norms of behaviour. They refused to take note of the lesson from history that influence and expansion of the party secured through the backing of the administration and the police or through violence and terror could not be stable.

It is only through the conduction of relentless ideological struggles, painstaking process of politically educating the masses and thereby winning them over that a party can establish and expand its influence over the people. They refused to see the necessity of enforcing strict administrative neutrality when in governmental power. It did not strike them that use of the administrative and the police machinery for sectarian party interest would have a boomerang effect. When out of governmental power, the ruling class and its representative, the ruling Congress, would use the same machinery against left democratic parties and democratic mass movement with greater ferocity. Now all the left democratic parties and united mass movement in West Bengal are paying extremely high price for these sins of the CPI(M). May be, the CPI(M), being the largest party among them, is bearing the brunt of fascistic attacks by the ruling Congress hoodlums backed by the administration and the police in West Bengal. But other left democratic parties also are not being spared by the ruling Congress. These attacks can only be effectively met, if all the left democratic parties in the state unite and develop united struggles of the people for the restoration of democracy. This calls for, on the part of the CPI(M), a complete break with their past wrong sectarian line which manifested itself in their wrong approach to united front and united struggles and adoption of a new line conducive to the proper functioning of the united front and development of united struggles against the common enemy. Mere lip service to united front and united struggle without real break with the wrong line of the past will do no good. We look forward to the day when this change

will really come.

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Mr. B.T. Ranadive, top ideologist of the CPI(M), is reported by the **Statesman** (issue dated 28th June, 1972) to have remarked in a critical reference to the Soviet Union and China as follows: "In pursuance of the short-term needs of their foreign policies, they seek to impose upon the communist and workers' parties in the former colonial countries such policies as lead to their liquidation and merger with the parties sponsored by the ruling regime or virtually make them obedient adjuncts." How far the Soviet Union and China have sought to impose their lines on communist and workers' parties in the former colonial countries against their will is yet to be established by Mr. Ranadive, stating his case with particular reference to concrete facts. If it is true, as told by Mr. Ranadive, that the Soviet Union and China had sought to impose their policies on others, why did other communist and workers' parties agree to such an imposition? No communist party, however big and powerful, can impose any policy of its own on any other communist party, unless the latter submits to the will of the former. The communist party of any particular country in a spirit of proletarian internationalism may give some comradely suggestions as to what the communist party of another country should or should not do in a particular case. In that case it is for the communist party of the other country to examine the suggestions given by the communist party of the former country on the basis of concrete conditions of their own country, and, accordingly, accept or reject them. The communist party of the former country cannot reasonably expect that their suggestions would be accepted

by the communist party of the latter country blindly, without examining if the suggestions were suited to the concrete conditions of the latter country, just like a robot. But this is also an objective reality that the political parties going by the name communist in our country have been behaving all through as robots, parroting the words of this or that communist party abroad and blindly copying their lines. These so-called communist parties here have never used their brains to think for themselves and acquire an accurate knowledge of the position of different classes in India through serious and independent investigation and study and concretise Marxism-Leninism on the soil. This is the history of the undivided CPI whose top ideologist was Mr. Ranadive, of the present CPI, of the CPI(M) and of the CPI(ML). Who does not know that the CPI(M), after it was formed, like the undivided CPI, blindly followed the line of the Chinese Communist Party? It is only after the CPI(M), inspite of their best efforts to remain in good book, fell in disgrace in the estimation of the Chinese Communist Party and was virtually left alone without any international recognition that Mr. Ranadive and the CPI(M) have started talking of independent line and accusing the Soviet Union and China of attempts to impose their lines on other communist parties. This 'grapes-are-sour' mentality will not help the CPI(M) in finding out the real cause as to why they behaved as robots of either the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the Communist Party of China, as the case may be and, hence, overcoming their mistakes.

What accounts for
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Anti-Lower Middle Peasant Pro-Jotedar Agrarian Policy of W. B. Congress Government

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comments in their Bengali organ, **Kalantar** dated July 1 last against the minister concerned, the administration and the police for what the organ called "holy festival of bargadar eviction." It is now as clear as day light that the ruling Congress and its Government in West Bengal, by their acts of omission and commission, are helping jotedars directly and indirectly to evict bargadars from the land they have been cultivating for decades; otherwise Congress hoodlums, R. G. Party personnel, the administration and the police would not have behaved in the way they are behaving in evicting bargadars.

Let us have another case for examination, the case of land revenue. The ruling Congress Government in the state feels that there is scope for increase in the earnings of the state Government from land revenue. There is no harm in so feeling, provided that the feeling is not followed by any pro-jotedar move. But that is what has actually taken place. Land revenue rates as obtaining in West Bengal, have been revised in favour of jotedars against the interest of lower middle peasants.

We do not claim that the two United Front Governments had done what they could do and should have done to introduce land reform measures with a view to developing and strengthening democratic peasant movement and giving some relief to landless, poor and lower middle peasants in West Bengal. Nevertheless, it is the second United Front Government that for the first time in the state exempted poor peasant families with holdings upto 3 acres from payment of any land revenue. As it was also fully alive to the poverty-stricken condition of lower middle peasants in West Bengal, the United Front Government maintained *status*

quo in respect of rate of land revenue for peasant families with holdings above 3 acres upto 7 acres. But since it had no soft corner for well-to-do peasants and jotedars, it enhanced the rate of land revenue to 1.5 times the existing rate for families with holdings above 7 acres upto 10 acres, to 2 times for families with holdings above 10 acres upto 15 acres, to 3 times for families with holdings above 15 acres upto 20 acres and to 4 times for families with holdings above 20 acres. By a suitable legislation this progressive rates of land revenue was fixed. The merit of this scheme based on progressive rates of land revenue is that it exempted poor peasants from payment of any land revenue, did not hurt lower middle peasants in any way, charged well-to-do peasants and jotedars at much higher rates compared to the existing rate and guaranteed more earnings by way of land revenue for the state exchequer.

The present ruling Congress Government in West Bengal has introduced the West Bengal Land Reforms (Second Amendment) Bill, 1972, now passed by the Legislative Assembly, to nullify the above-mentioned slab of progressive rates of land revenue fixed by the United Front Government referred to above. It is true that this new legislative measure has not disturbed the provision made by the United Front Government exempting poor peasant families with holdings upto 3 acres from payment of any land revenue but it has lumped lower middle peasants together with well-to-do peasants and jotedars as a result of which lower middle peasants will henceforth have to pay land revenue at the same rate as well-to-do peasants and jotedars are to

pay. Besides, whereas the United Front Government maintained the existing rate of land revenue for lower middle peasant families with holdings above 3 acres upto 7 acres, the new piece of legislation seeks to double the rate in case the holding is in a non-irrigated area and to treble the rate in case it is in irrigated area. It should, however, be noted that if the holding happens to be in an irrigated area, no matter whether the holding actually gets irrigation facilities or not, the rate will be three times the existing rate. Thus, we find that the ruling Congress Government by this law aims at not only taking away an existing right of lower middle peasants but also taxing them by way of land revenue two to three times more. And what about jotedar families with holdings above 20 acres? In their case the law made by the United Front Government fixed the rate of land revenue at four times the existing rate whereas the new law made by the present ruling Congress Government has fixed the rate at twice the existing rate in case the holding is in a non-irrigated area and thrice the rate if the holding is in an irrigated area. In other words, in case of jotedars the rate has been halved compared to the provision made by the United Front Government in case of the holding being in a non-irrigated area and reduced to three-fourths if the holding is in an irrigated area.

This is not all. The new law seeks to impose a surcharge on land revenue at the rate of 10 per cent of the land revenue calculated according to the new law on every peasant family with a holding of 9.8 acres or more in *one mouza*. But if 9.8 acres or more land is situated in more than *one mouza* then there will be no surcharge. It is

common knowledge that big jotedars in West Bengal generally have kept their land spread over in several districts or Thanas and not just in *one mauza*. These jotedars, thus, will not have to pay any surcharge on land revenue but peasant families less affluent than big jotedars having 9.8 acres or more of land in *one mauza* will have to pay it.

Thus, it is perfectly clear that by amending the law enacted by the United Front Government, the ruling Congress and its Government in the state have given relief to jotedars at the cost of lower middle peasants whom they want to tax several times more than at present. Do the people of West Bengal want any more proof to be convinced of pro-jotedar and anti-middle peasant outlook and attitude of the ruling Congress and the ruling Congress Government in the state?

The ruling Congress being a party representing the aggregate interest of Indian monopoly capitalism, one can foresee what role the ruling Congress and its Government will play and naturally does not expect any real anti-jotedar measure from them. But what about the CPI and, particularly, its ranks who very often speak of the urgent necessity of taking strong measures against jotedars in favour of landless, poor and middle peasants? The new law is directed against lower middle peasants for safeguarding the interest of well-to-do peasants and jotedars. What will the CPI ranks do in this case? Will they say ditto to their leaders' view, hail the ruling Congress and its Government in West Bengal as "progressive" and support this reactionary measure or register their strong protest by coming out of their alliance with the ruling Congress and organising united mighty peasant

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West Bengal Chief Minister's Idea of Normalcy

Sri Siddhartha Sankar Ray is claiming that, after the installation of the present Congress Ministry, law and order situation has improved, normalcy in West Bengal has been restored, the politics of violence and murder has been ended and normal democratic atmosphere has been brought back in this state. The big so-called nationalist newspapers are also, in sickening sycophancy, dancing to the tune of the ruling party and suppressing reports of violent and murderous incidents that are daily occurring, to keep the people in the dark and create an air of improved law and order situation in West Bengal. Some of these newspapers belong to Congress Minister and Congress M. P. themselves. Nevertheless a few incidents that these newspapers are sometimes forced to publish will reveal the real state of affair in West Bengal. Extracts of reports from these newspapers regarding the violent and murderous acts for the last few days are given below to prove beyond any shade of doubt the falsity of the claim of Sri Siddhartha Sankar Ray regarding restoration of normal democratic atmosphere in West Bengal.

The Sunday Statesman dated 18th June 1972 reports:—"group rivalry among youth Congress workers which was so long latent is said to be coming into the open. In April there was a clash between two groups in Nadia district as a result of which two died. There had been such incidents in Dum Dum, Barasat and a few other places in the 24 Parganas district. In Hooghly the factional fight among the youths is said to be getting sustenance from two top leaders of the district".

In Jugantar dated 24th June '72, it is reported:—"A band of armed youths attacked a house at Kapasdanga

under Beldanga P. S. in the district of Murshidabad and looted the belongings of the house. While attempting to resist this attack, a few members of the house were stabbed and seriously wounded".

In Anandabazar dated 24th June last it is reported: "It is learnt from the police department that the dead body of one Bobli Dhar was found floating in the Ganges near Kalna town at about 7 A.M. The dead body bears mark of wound caused by sharp weapon." It is not, however, reported whether Bobli became the victim of group rivalry within Youth Congress in Kalna town but people in Kalna say so.

"On the night of Tuesday detonator worth nearly seventy thousand rupees was stolen from the godown in the locality of Jamuria under Asansol subdivision" (Anandabazar 24th June '72). Everybody in the locality knows who the culprits are but no one dares to speak out.

"The revolver and bicycle of the O.C. of Raipur P.S. in the district of Bankura was stolen on 20th June last from his quarters adjacent to the thana. A few round of live cartridges were also stolen" (Jugantar 24th June '72).

"On the morning of 23rd June last, a dead body was found on the verandah of Anchal Panchayet office at Dikhul under Kushmundi P.S. in the district of West Dinajpur. Marks of wounds at different places of the body were found. According to police, the person was beaten to death by a group of people" (Jugantar 25th June '72).

"A person was beaten to death in the early hours of the morning at Lotabari under Kharibari P. S. in the district of Darjeeling on last Saturday" (Jugantar 26th June '72). It is learnt that the

deceased was a poor peasant who was murdered by men hired by a jotedar belonging to the Congress Party.

"It is learnt from official sources that 125 cases of dacoities took place in the district of Nadia from the beginning of this year. In 90 per cent cases, fire arms were used. Out of the fifteen thanas in the district, Tehatta is the most affected. Twenty three cases of dacoities took place there. In eighteen cases of dacoities rifles were used. It is said from the official sources that due to smuggling of rifles from the other side of the border, criminal activities have sharply increased in the district and the situation has badly deteriorated" (Basumati 25th June '72). People of Nadia district are wondering why the criminal activities, instead of being curbed with increasing Youth Congress and Chhatra Parishad activities, are growing up and up.

It is reported in Anandabazar Patrika dated 24th June '72 that altogether six workers were injured by Police firing at Benaras road under Liluah P. S. in the district of Howrah. Indira Congress is showering bullets on the workers and offering concessions to the monopolists.

The Jugantar Patrika dated 28th June last reports: "The whole of Belghoria was panic-stricken when human heads were recovered one after another from a Jheel in Nandannagar." Rumour goes that this resulted from rivalry within Youth Congress.

The Hindusthan Standard dated 28th June last reports:—"One armed gang looted nearly Rs. 15,000 from the booking counter of Siliguri Junction station. It is learnt from Railway police that the miscreants snatched the key of the chest from the Railway employee at the point of revolver and decamped with the money. One spokesman of the Railway said that the miscreants could escape safely though a few R.P.F. men were on duty near the platform. The G.R.P. office is also situ-

Assam Five Party Meeting

Gauhati, July, 2—A meeting of the five party combination consisting of the S.U.C.I., C.P.I (M), P.D.P., P.T.C and R.S.P., was held on 18th June, 1972 at the Bhagawati Prasad Baruah Bhawan under the Presidentship of Dr. Deva Prasad Baruah. Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Secretary Assam State Committee of the S.U.C.I. and one of the conveners of the meeting, discussed on the aims and objectives of the meeting and the proposed Democratic Convention to be held by 30th July, 1972 at Gauhati. He proposed to constitute a preparatory committee accommodating democratic individuals also for the success of the ALL ASSAM DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The meeting unanimously appointed a Preparatory Committee headed by Sri Gauri Sankar Bhattacharjee, M.L.A and Chairman of the P.D.P. as Chairman. Com. Prabhat Khataniar, Joint Convener of the Assam State Committee of the U.T.U.C (Lenin Sarani) had been nominated as a Vice-Chairman. Com. Indu Bhowmick, Joint Convener of the Assam State Committee of the U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani) as Joint Secretary.

Coms. S. Biswas, Prabhat Barman, Sambhu Chakraborty Kamala Malakar, Entrance R a b h a, J u g a l Kalita of the Gauhati District Committee of the S.U.C.I. were included in different Sub-committees.

ated very near the booking counter."

Again in Jugantar dated 29th June last it is reported that Sri Abdul Rezak has been wounded by a pipe gun shot on his way to market in Anwar Shah Road in Calcutta.

These are one week's events. Hundreds of such incidents have not been published. This, according to West Bengal Chief Minister, is normal situation.

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robot-like behaviour of these parties? Lack of understanding of the dialectical relationship that governs the mutual relationship between different communist parties as also that between the leading communist party and other communist parties. It is not that the leading communist party will decide on every question and the business of all other communist parties is to give blind support to the stand of the leading communist party. *"The relationship between different Communist parties is governed by the dialectical principle of 'unity-struggle-unity' on the basis of new understanding of values of life fundamentally different from humanistic moral values and cemented by common aims and objectives of world proletarian revolution and establishment of world communist society"*, as put by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and General Secretary of our Party. **(On Steps Taken By CPSU Against Stalin)**. Does Mr. Ranadive realize it?

In this connection Com. Ghosh, one of the leading Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the day, further said: "Due to formalistic process of thinking, there prevails a confusion in the matter of understanding the relation of the foreign policy" of the USSR, or China directed from the state plane "with the programme of international proletarian revolution. Most of the communist parties consider the two as one and the same. This is grossly erroneous". There is no denying that the foreign policy of the USSR or China or any other socialist country and the programme of international proletarian revolution should supplement each other yet there is a contradiction between them. The aim of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as a socialist country should be

"to consolidate the forces of socialism, create further and deeper antagonism between the imperialists capitalists themselves, isolate the less adventurists in the Imperialist War Camp from the more adventurists, defend and maintain world peace and thereby create favourable objective conditions for the growth, development and success of world proletarian revolution. The aim of the programme of world proletarian revolution is to provide the general guiding line for successful revolution in different countries. The duty of the communist parties in colonies, semi-colonies and metropolitan countries is to creatively apply this general line in their respective countries. It is none of their business to parrot the foreign policy of the USSR or the general line of the international communist forum blindly. Dialectics teaches us to study the contradiction of the particular with the general. Every serious communist knows that the general policy of the international communist forum gives the general guiding principle which is to be applied differently to different countries. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions which differ from country to country and concrete application of the general guiding principle in different countries with different objective conditions are the living soul of Marxism. Without them Marxism would become a dogma. It is because of difference in concrete conditions in different countries that there exists a contradiction between the general programme of international proletarian revolution and the particular programme of revolution in a given country. Anyone who loses sight of this contradiction between the general and the particular commits the error of formalism. This being the relation between the general

Price Fixation of Raw Jute

Sometime back the Agricultural Prices Commission recommended that the minimum support price for raw jute per quintal should be fixed at Rs. 115, which comes to Rs. 43.20 per maund, for delivery at Calcutta. The up country prices would be such as would be determined by the Jute Corporation of India.

The prices so fixed by the Commission are most unjustified, inasmuch as they do not meet even the expenses incurred by jute-growers to produce raw jute. It is for this reason that the two and a half lakh workers employed in jute mills through their trade unions and the six lakh jute-growers through peasants' organisations in West Bengal strongly protested against this arbitrary fixation of minimum support price of raw jute by the Agricultural Prices Commission and demanded its upward revision to at least Rs. 60 a maund in West Bengal.

It is known to all that jute-growers are worst victims of exploitation by the jute barons in our country, who control the jute industry, and their *benamdar* agents who purchase jute and

work as intermediary between jute industry and jute-growers. These jute barons and their agents, most unscrupulous in their transactions, not only fleece poor jute-growers to the utmost but also cheat the Government in matters of taxes and foreign exchange earnings and have brought the industry on to the verge of ruination. This being the reality continuing for decades, the Government ought to have accepted the modest and most justified demand of jute-growers and jute workers and fixed the minimum support price for raw jute at Rs. 60 a maund. But, in spite of the slogan of 'garibi hatao' and lip service to 'socialism', the Government of India, true to its anti-people stand in every matter, has accepted the recommendation of the

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programme of world proletarian revolution adopted by the international communist forum and the particular programme of revolution of a communist party in a given country, it is only scientific to conclude that there are contradictions between the foreign policy of the USSR and the programme of revolution of a communist party in a given country. Lack of understanding of the contradiction between the general and the particular and that between the foreign policy of the USSR and the programme of revolution of communist parties in their respective countries had even at the time of Stalin's leadership converted most of the communist parties into robots. The position has not improved much since then. Whatever may be the

strength of a robot, it can never apply the general policy of world revolution creatively in its own country and lead the masses to revolution and power. The history of the Communist Party of India is the history of such robot-like activities. The international communist leadership cannot be absolved of its defects for this state of affairs." (*Ibid*)

The above analysis by Com. Ghosh provides a scientific theoretical explanation as to why different 'communist' parties in the world behave as tame yes-men of the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party. Mr. Ranadive should try to catch the real point. Otherwise mere anti-Soviet or anti-China utterances by him will not, in the long run, save the CPI(M).

Increasing Imperialist Tendencies Shown Hoax of Rural Employment

By Indian State

That Indian monopolists are exporting capital to foreign countries and, in collaboration with the native bourgeoisie of these countries, are setting up joint ventures there is by now well-known, corroborating our analysis that Indian capitalism has already assumed imperialist character. Recent decision of the Government of India "to relax restrictions on Indian equity participation in joint ventures abroad," as reported by the **Statesman** in its issue dated June 26 last, once again confirms our contention that the present Indian state is increasingly showing imperialist tendencies. These hard facts show the incorrectness of the analysis of present-day Indian society and character of the state by the CPI and the CPI (M).

The Government of India has, so far, approved the establishment of as many as 133 industrial enterprises abroad by private Indian firms in collaboration with the native bourgeoisie there. The total approved investment in this regard is about Rs. 20 crores. Of these 133 joint ventures, 29 have started production, 66 projects are in various stages of implementation, and the rest 38 have been abandoned. The 29 projects, that have already gone into production, have repatriated so far foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 10'80 crores as their earnings from, among other things, dividends and technical know-how and managerial fees. In addition, Rs. 41'70 crores has been earned by way of exporting additional machinery and spares to these joint ventures.

Any one having even an elementary knowledge in Political Economy knows that exploitation of the natural resources and the people of one country by the finance capital of another country is what is called imperialist exploitation by the latter country. The above-mentioned facts bear out the truth that Indian finance capital is already engaged in exploiting the natural resources and the peoples of other countries. In other words, it means that Indian capitalism has already assumed imperialist character. It is true that compared to powerful imperialist countries, imperialist exploitation by

Indian finance capital is small. But that is a matter of degree and not of quality.

We have also been saying that with the passage of time the Indian state is increasingly showing imperialist tendencies. The recent decision of the Government of India to further relax restrictions on Indian equity participation in joint ventures abroad is a proof of it. Up till now equity contribution was permitted only in the form of export of machinery and supply of technical know-how. Now after the relaxation it will be possible for Indian private firms to make cost remittances also for preliminary expenses for proposed projects. The decision of the Government to relax restrictions has been hailed by Indian monopolists who are showing increasing interests in joint ventures abroad with Indian participation.

This is another indication of how the Government of India and the ruling Congress led by Sm. Indira Gandhi, despite tall promise of their determination to curb monopoly and lip service to anti-imperialism, are actually helping Indian monopolists to exploit not only the masses of the Indian people but also the peoples of other countries. They are more and more subjugating the Indian state to monopoly interests. Will the ranks of the CPI and the CPI(M) examine the political lines of their respective parties on the anvil of these facts?

It may be recalled that with fanfare the Central Government adopted a crash programme for rural employment in 1971. An allocation of Rs 50 crores was made in the budget for 1971-72 for implementing this scheme.

After the scheme was initiated, the state governments were asked to submit concrete proposals as to how they would provide employment to the rural unemployed in their respective states. The state governments could not, however, send sufficient number of proposals in the manner in which the Central Government wanted them to send. As a result, proposals in respect of 348 districts spreading over different states amounting to Rs 47 crores were ultimately approved. Thus, thanks to the ruling Congress and the governments run by it at the Centre and in different states, the original allocation of Rs 50 crores had to be reduced by 3 crores at the very beginning of the crash programme. A review by the Planning Commission of the implementation of the programme has revealed that out of Rs 47 crores allocated, only Rs 13'34 crores could be spent during the financial year 1971-72. In simple words, due to criminal inaction on the part of the

ruling party and its governments Rs 33'36 crores could not be spent when crores of rural unemployed persons were eagerly waiting for the money to be spent for providing them employment.

West Bengal, which suffers most from unemployment problem, could spend only Rs 15'59 lakhs out of Rs 2'99 crores sanctioned for the scheme in 1971-72

This is an acid test of how the ruling Congress and its governments seek to implement its 'garibi hatao' slogan. And this test conclusively establishes insincerity of the ruling party beyond any shade of doubt. Tall promises and slogans notwithstanding, the ruling Congress governments at the Centre and in different states have by their actual deeds proved that for the unemployed starving youths they have no genuine feeling. Their tears for the unemployed is just crocodile's tear. The sooner unemployed youths in our country realize it, the better for them and the country.

SUCI Central Committee On Indo-Pak Agreement

On behalf of the Central Committee of the SUCI the following statement to the Press on the recently concluded agreement between India and Pakistan has been released:

"In tune with the aspiration of the Indian people, the SUCI has been making consistent demand that the Government of India should without delay take the initiative to peacefully settle all outstanding disputes and differences with neighbouring countries, including Pakistan and China, through bilateral negotiations and consultations. Considered in the background of this demand, the recently concluded agreement between India and Pakistan, though expressing resolve to put an

end to conflict and conformation that have marred the relations between the two countries, settle the differences through mutual consultations and negotiations and cultivate friendly relation, has achieved little real success. There still remains wide field of differences on major issues between the two countries which any moment can wreck the agreement. And the possibility of such an eventuality cannot be absolutely ruled out. In the circumstances, there is hardly anything to be elated over this agreement. We still demand that the outstanding disputes and differences should not be kept hanging any further and must be resolved without delay".

RAW JUTE PRICE FIXATION

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Agricultural Prices Commission and fixed Rs. 115 as the minimum support price for raw jute per quintal for delivery at Calcutta on a statutory basis.

If past experience is any guide, it can be said without any fear of being contradicted that our jute-growers would not get even this statutorily fixed minimum price. Because, jute barons and their *benamdar* agents will continue to control the market as before, take full advantage of jute-growers' incapacity to hold on raw jute till its prices come up, pay lower prices on the alleged ground of inferior quality and pay much below the statutorily fixed prices. In spite of price fixation of raw jute by the Government on earlier occasions, this had been the case. In spite of price fixation on a statutory basis of other articles, like paddy and rice, this had been the case.

The malady can be cured to a large extent, only if all-out state-trading in raw jute is introduced. But the Government is not willing to do it. The Jute Corporation of India proposes to purchase this year 9 lakh bales of raw jute out of a total annual turnover of about 55 lakh bales. Even if it is assumed that there will not be any slip between the cup and the lip, i.e., if the proposal to purchase 9 lakh bales becomes a reality, still

then jute barons operating through their *benamdars* will have the raw jute market on the hollow of their palm. And purchase of 9 lakh bales also will be made not from jute-growers themselves but from the secondary markets. And who constitute the secondary markets? Again the intermediaries, be they the co-operative societies or private agents. The talk of utilizing the services of departmental centres for the purchase of raw jute is all bunkum. For, there is no departmental centre in actuality.

Thus, here also we find the same policy of the ruling Congress—tall talks and promise of wiping out the appalling poverty of our people but in actuality throwing the people to the mercy of the monopolists and defending the latter's interests by all means under the garb of so-called radical utterances. Our people should have no illusion about Sm. Gandhi and her Government and the ruling Congress.

Land Reforms

(Contd. from page 4)
movement against the ruling Congress Government and this new law? Their objective political behaviour will determine to which camp they actually belong, to the camp of landless, poor and middle peasants or to the camp of jotedars. Let CPI ranks please ponder.

THE SAME WAY!

Mr. S.K. Patil, Congress (O) leader is reported to have said: "Tons of money are pouring today into the coffers of the Congress. Crores were spent both in the 1971 and 1972 elections. Several crores of rupees were collected by means of advertisements in the so-called souvenirs which were never printed. There is the case of several lakhs of rupees being spent by a Calcutta industrialist on posters for elections. Several lakhs of rupees were also spent by a few industrialists in Bombay in printing a large number of calendars with the portrait of Mrs. Gandhi on them." The charge is true but we do not really find any cause of grieve of Mr. Patil at this affluence of the ruling Congress. What he had done for a long time as the treasurer of the undivided Congress is now being done by Mrs. Gandhi and others of the ruling Congress.

By The Way

"It would have been much more honourable for the Congress to come back to power with a strength of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty in a house of two hundred and eighty in free and fair elections. The victory resulting from rigged elections had not brought glory to the party. It would be impossible to prove the rigging of elections in a court of law. Still it can be said without hesitation that the politically conscious people of West Bengal are hanging their heads in shame for being deprived of the right of franchise by terroristic and other means." This is not from any speech by any leader of the Left Front in West Bengal. This is from a note by some leaders of the ruling Congress in West Bengal, including some members of the AICC, to the ruling Congress High Command, as published in **The Times of India** dated 2nd May last. Does it not confirm the charge by the Left Front that the last elections in West Bengal had been rigged?

The Sunday Statesman (dated 18th June, 1972) reports: "There have been as many as 10 cases of gheraos of Thanas in the districts, including the one at Durgapur on Friday. The gheraos have generally followed action by the police against anti-social elements, in particular arrest under specific charges, including murder.**Group rivalry among Youth Congress workers which was so long latent is said to be coming into the open. In April there was a clash between two groups in Nadia district as a result of which two died. There had been such incidents in Dum Dum, Barasat and a few other places in the 24 Parganas district. In Hooghly, the factional fights among the youths is said to be getting sustenance from two top leaders of the district.**Local pressure, it is stated, is brought upon the Thana officials to act according to the dictates of this or that group and when they cannot oblige them, complaint is made to higher quarters that they have unnecessarily been harassing the Congress workers." Really the ruling Congress has firmly established democratic atmosphere in West Bengal!

Perhaps all is not well with the United Front in Kerala. The Congress, according to the **Statesman**, has been riding rough shod over other partners in the coalition. As the largest constituent of the Front, it has assumed the right to make decisions, announce them publicly without consulting with other constituents and impose them on the partners. It is also conducting bitter criticism against the CPI and the Muslim League. It is reported that a junior Congress minister has gone to the extent of instructing his officials not to put up any files if called for by the CPI Chief Minister. The CPI has to put up with this insult. What else can it do? For after all the vassal has to live on the mercy of his master, if he wants to continue in service.

In connection with the role played by the ruling Congress in toppling the coalition government in Orissa by engineering defection, **The Hindustan Times** comments: "Defections that the Congress had in the past condemned as bad form and worse when they endangered the party's own interests are no longer anathema." Nothing unnatural. What better code of conduct and ethical standard do you expect of an anti-people party?